1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyapda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kuviot* tree (*Ionidea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *inat*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *maseita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosiyat*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *taparuriet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*amilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1939, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arana* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesouiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *musambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sakeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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224 825 mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

224 411 The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

261 If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

271 221

[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kicherembwes*, is also known to the Kitôto Masai and is called by them *Ol-kiserimbwes*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

[824]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

Kizigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balaŋga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

Dorobo Arms

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Mósiro*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balaŋga* and *Kinyalaŋgat* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kueanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porówet* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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Some *Mósiro* Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore and Superstitions

"*Epilis dimda kitó*" [1]

Thus answered a *Mósiro* Dorobo whom I railed on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mukutan* [2] tree, fibre for plating into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Masai is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Mósiro* themselves and admitted by the Masai to be Dorobo in origin.

The Dikdik and the Elephant.—The dikdik, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "Thus am I incommoded by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in like manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dikdik-dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyæna.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] "I am listening to something in the bush." Cf. the Masai *En-dim*, bush.

[2] *Albizzia anthelmintica*, according to the authority quoted in Hollis. It is used as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. It is highly prized by the Masai and is scarce in the Kitóto localities.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muait ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike [10]; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves sacred, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression *ki Obiek*, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression *ki Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense group-value, being the element that ensures horde solidarity.

Personification and well-being. Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking in a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilet* was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilet* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfils the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom SIR CLAUD HOLLIS saw defying the "rain-god" [11]. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilet* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the horde is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public delicts is necessary to prevent disaster to the horde. Public delicts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

[10] That is, although some animals (the human kind or Dorobo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind eat some of the others but not all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

[11] Man 1909. 101.

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in §2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitatik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momowyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *nawoiet*, Musa eusete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siwet*, girardinia condemnata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiwet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of *the tepengwet* bush (*canella integrifolia*), *or* of the *nevegwet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little cheap beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkutiesik or kosuik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *ratiwet* tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kiwam ratik, kipsis mat si kokwer;
They are taken the seed-pods, they are boiled on the fire that they may be soft;
kiwar ilosto si kipsis takad ee somiet ko
they are washed in the river that they may be lost the things which are dirty off
kipsonkosit. Kiwa si keyonio. Kilosto kwet
they become soft. They are put in the sun that they may dry. They are put into the pot
ole mil kumiet pus, si kowonyit, kilosto ongwet
where there is the honey only, that it may become bitter, there is put the water

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumoren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepauko, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepauko himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkoreun, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every woman learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 3 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and timber.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, cords, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kwiat (*tarkea* sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Mesasis: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Kwomondet: arrow-shafts.
Sosuiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Kotuyuwet: traps.
Kimudwet (*vangueria edulis*): traps.
Keliot (*acocanthera Schimperi*): arrow-poison.
Lepekwet (*dracaena* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kiperpwet (*tilia* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Mororis: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sayaviet (wild banana, *musa ensete*): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tweetwet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Pwwet (lianas): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

Rereshit (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
Mwat : honey-barrels.
Olkwenyit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Eayanick : fire-wood.
Cayuat (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Tost (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

(B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[*] :

Sosiat (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
† *Teperwiat* : fibre for baskets.
Sosiat (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiiwat* : medicine.
† *Opoito* : medicine.
Rereshit : medicine.
Lepayuwat : medicine.
Sokotwat : medicine.
Sokotet : medicine.
C'owat (urtica sp.) : medicine.
Teperopwat (urtica integrifolia) : salt.
Serengwat : salt.
Rutiwat or *Rutiet* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

(C) Skins and animal products. These include :

† Monkey : food ; clothing.
† Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kewpet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *Aiwpei kewpenik Nandi*, "we make baskets for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiat* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *teperwiat* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1). The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiat* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[*] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[i.e. see cafeguide 116 & 697 - Analyst.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 ins. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mosot* and *revendet*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *kwatuet*, *silipet*, *kipakuet*, *kiparpuet*, and *maroeto*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, liana is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The slat barrel, not so common as the dug-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the *mosot* and *revendet* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the endpieces and bound together with liana, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realise; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A hand-hole is made in the under side, as in the dug-out type (Fig. 1, 2).

Fig. 1. Dug-out Honey-barrel.

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it [16]. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather unnatural, high-pitched tone:

Sekem, asken, er mii ra rendimeera tukul, ra ɓani [17] *anyun, arakiton,*
Bees, bees, who are in countries-there all, come here now, pour in-(honey),
arakiton [18].
pour-in-(honey).

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

[16] New swarms take off from a bee colony when it becomes congested. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[17] This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *Ongyon yo*, "come here".

[18] The Nandi have borrowed this formula, and adapted it to *Ogoa arakiton nwaraet lot ne laiboi*, "come ye, pour wax into the warm hut".

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *sinin* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo[28]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Kolist* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*mokte*, pl. *mokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kolpsi-Kipkoreon area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo[29] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkoreek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *ngwet*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipsaiyinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *parsat*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood-lions, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *pangs* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkoreon by Coimin arap Kotzin on 9 July 1939. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[28] Cf. Hollis, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.
[29] Cf. Capt. G. Dellenbach in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 114.

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Ranguis Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Ogglek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

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[34]

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirigé, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [283] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. [824] Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ [322] do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved [171] from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, [439] of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from [439] sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait [285] shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so 829 popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the 171 words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes 517 over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a [535] gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp 431 and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/245 cont./

422 districts. Besides such marks one also finds /246/ others that belong to individual large families and are then used in place of the former, 411 not together with them. The point and tang of the arrows and throw- 278 ing spears are always smeared along their entire length with a plant [824] poison, which the Wandorobo themselves brew out of the wood and roots of the Acocanthera abyssinica, which they call adug, i.e., poison (1).

000

1. Prof. Dr. L. Lewin, Berlin, produced a glycoside, amorphous ouabain, from Acocanthera wood that the author sent to him, which shows the following characteristics: it tastes bitter and is copiously soluble in cold water; Drehung /rotation/ $[\alpha]_D = -32^\circ$ for a 2 per cent cold dilute solution; it expands at 180°C; it has the per cent composition $C_{30} H_{48} O_{13}$; it is precipitated by means of tannin; dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid, it gives a quickly arising and strong fluorescence in green. -- Prof. Dr. E. Stadelmann, Berlin, clinically tested ouabain for serious heart ailments and expressed himself, among other things, about the results as follows: "Ouabain is easily soluble and I took advantage of this circumstance to inject it subcutaneously or intramuscularly. Injected subcutaneously or intramuscularly in a concentration of 0.3-0.4 mg. of ouabain three times daily in the above concentration, I have so far obtained for the most part among my heart patients a very prompt, excellent result in the direction of digitalis, without unpleasant side effects. If the experiences up to now continue to be equally favorable -- and I have no reason to doubt it -- there would

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments/." By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 • 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the [439] Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. 278 562 834 During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within [784] calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /247/ (améta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/259 cont./

782 796 842 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for Uɛ̄d, which they call korodjeg or koroseg. For a koroseg a hawa, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present with honey beer, they sing: Uɛ̄d nge hawa! After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words. [504] [273] The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are consumed. At a koroseg e aga they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the campmates station themselves around the fire and sing: Uɛ̄d ngeri' magat (magat = game). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Uɛ̄d urag haiug ara, which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand [824] in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the oñti tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Uɛ̄d ngeri' magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a koroseg e aga they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to 789 the ol ogor 1 ol geretti.[1] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut [796] a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along [782] the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The author saw only one, which they called tuturo and which consisted of a small piece of root. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

1. [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

M 824 /356 cont./

60. em bere eń gob (Adiantus hispidulum Sw.).

61. el beres (Panicum horizontale Meg.). Good fodder grass.

62. ol beres 1 ol obe kidoñoi. Good fodder grass.

63. em berěsí (Pappophorum abyssinicum Hoch.). Good fodder grass.

64. ol berěsí (Chloris virgata Vw.). Good fodder grass.

65. em berěsí 1 em bugúl (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

66. ol berěsí 1 en diamutu (Sporobolus robustus Kth.). Good fodder grass.

67. ol berěsí 1 eń gare (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

68. ol berěsí 1 e' rube (Chloris virgata Sw.). Good fodder grass.

69. ol beresí ol obe kidonoi (Sprorbolus indicus [L] R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

70. ol beresi 'njugi (Andropogon ischaemum L.). A very good fodder grass, which is valued so highly that the people often actually regard it as a preventive against sicknesses of livestock.

71. ol beresí was (Chloris myriostachya Hochst.). Good fodder grass.

72. ol bibiai. Reed mace.

D [824] 73. ol bibiai ado (Leonotis mollissima Gürke). Honey plant valued by the El dorobo.

74. ol bibiai kete (Leucas Neuflizeana Courbon.). (1).

1. Also called en dialoño.

Likewise.

75. ol bibiai 1 ol muáte (Leonotis nepetifolia [L.] R. Br.). Likewise.

76. ol bíli (Commiphora spec.). The honey pots (ol ulul) are made from the wood of this tree.

77. ol boboñi. Candelabrum euphorbia.

78. ol bolboli is the designation for Oncoba spinosa Forsk. and Cucumis methuliferus E. Meg.

79. ol bolboli kitok (Sphaerosicyos sphaericus Cogn.). The plant commonly grows in abandoned kraals.

M 824

/357 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/

This species is striking because of the silky sheen of the hair of the capitulum stalk and calyxes.

Inflamed eyes of cattle are washed with a decoction of extract of the bark bast for healing. Furthermore, secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

94. ol darboi (Kigelia africana Bth.). The paste obtained by boring out scrapings of fresh young fruits is placed on wounds. /358/ A small piece of boiled fruit is placed in the fermenting honey beer to hasten fermentation.

95. ol dĕbĕlĕgi (Grewia spec.).

96. ol debĕsi (Acacia verrugera Schwfth.). The decoction of a hand-sized piece of bark (dose for one or two days) is drunk for gonorrhea until a cure is produced.

M [301]

97. ol degŏm (Cardiospermum halicacabum L.). The black, almost pea-sized seeds are strung on a string like beads and worn by the women as an ornament around their necks.

98. ol degoñ.

99. en dĕlĕmĕt (Sesamum angustifolium [Oliv.] Engl.).

100. ol dĕmĕlĭă (Solanum setaceum Damm., Solanum Schumannianum Damm.). The decoction of about ten finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with meat broth and drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

101. en dĕmĕschŏ. Warriors like to drink a bark decoction in meat soup as an aid to digestion.

102. en dĕmŭmŭă. Good fodder grass.

103. en demunjua (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass.

104. ol dĕrĕgĕll (Strychnos heterodoxa Gilg). The decoction of a square inch of bark is taken to get rid of taeniae and ascarids.

D [824] [231]

105. en dĕrĕwĕnj (Setaria verticillata P. B.). The burs are used by the El dorobo to make tight beehives that have become leaky.

106. en dĕrĕwĕnj ol godjita. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

107. en dĕrĕwĕnj on gĕg.

/363 cont./

M 824 200. eṅ gelĕn gĕ̆ĕ (Casia mimosoides L. and Sesbania punctata D.C.). Regarded as rich fodder for goats.

201. ol gĕtălăsŭ (Myrica kilimandscharica var. macrophylla Engl.). A decoction of four finger-sized pieces of root is drunk with beef broth as a stimulant. A smaller dose acts as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/.

D [752] [824] 202. eṅ gĕrĭgŭs (Jatropha spec.). On bruises or sprains the El dorobo make incisions and drip into these the juice or rub in a powder of the charred twigs of the plant.

203. ol gĕrĭ l ol tibolio (Cleome diandra Burch.). Good fodder for goats.

204. ol gĕwăgĕt (Schrebera Holstii Gilg).

205. ol gibumbu. Good fodder grass.

206. ol gibumbul (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

207. eṅ gidoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

208. eṅ gijăbŏrĭ (Indigofera suaveolens Jaub.). Good goat fodder.

209. eṅ gilŏgĭrgĭr (Sonchus asper Vill.). The milky juice of the plant is dripped into the patient's eye for eye inflammation.

M [751] 210. eṅ gilolĭŏ (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Secret medicine of the ol oiboni. He makes an amulet out of the powder of various parts of the plant, which is supposed to protect one against all kinds of illnesses.

211. eṅ giloṅo. If the noses of small children, especially of babies, have been made sore at the nostrils by flies, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore places with the chewed-out juice.

212. ol gilŏrĭtĭ (Acacia abyssinica Hochst.). At the meat meals the warriors cook two handfuls of the bark in approximately 15 to 20 liters of water and drink the nerve-stimulating decoction as desired.

/364/ 213. ol gĭnĕ (Scilla spec.). An extract of the pounded bulb is given to calves to drink for fever.

214. ol gĭnjĕ (Euclea fructuosa). Edible fruits. A root decoction is drunk for spleen pain. The handle of the bow is made from the wood.

215. eṅ gĭnjŏṅjŏrĕt. The El kuafi give the small livestock, for diarrhea, a mash made of the pounded leaves and water, with the addition of steppe salt.

M 824 /366 cont./

strigosis; floribus argenteis in apice caulis in capitulas parvas sphaericas densiusculas dispositis; inflorescentiis partialibus 3-floris, floribus partim hermaphroditis, partim masculis, partim sterilibus; tepalis 5 lanceolatis, rigidis; staminibus 5 semper cum pseudostaminodiis 5 ovato-triangularibus teneris alternantibus; ovario ovato, stylo longissimo.

Plant 20-25 cm. tall. Leaves 1.5 cm. long, 8-10 cm. wide. Leaf stalk 3 mm. long. Capitulum approximately 1 cm. in diameter. Perianth leaves 7-8 mm. long, 2-3 mm. wide.

A secret medicine of the ol oiboni and ol goiatiki. A root decoction is taken as a diaphoretic agent for fever.

253. ol gŭlăngŭĭ (Caesalpinia Bonducello Roxb.). From the powdered leaves the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever. The hard, ball-shaped fruits are used as stones in the board game (en dodoi).

254. en gŭlélŏ (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.). A small piece of bark is cooked with beef broth as spice for it.

255. en gŭlŏílŏ. Fodder for small livestock.

256. ol gŭm. Edible fruits. A leaf extract is used to wash out inflamed eyes.

257. ol gŭmi (Vangueria edulis Vahl.).

258. ol gurmajek (Barleria spec.). Fodder for small livestock. D [824] The twigs are popularly used as bed padding in the hut. The El dorobo value it as a good honey plant.

259. ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). Small-livestock fodder. Numerous punctures with the very sharp thorns of the plant are made around a snake bite, in order to facilitate pressing out an abundant quantity of infected blood. A decoction of stalks and roots is used as an emetic.

D
/370 cont./
• 824 825 789 334. e' mundẽja (Phyllanthus spec.). The ol dorobo places a twig of it close beside the slain game as protective magic to prevent birds from circling above the animal and thus attracting other people.

335. ol mundẽja (Veronica cinerascens). This plant serves the el dorobo as protective magic against lions.

M 824 336. ol murgẽa (Phyllanthus). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

337. e' murua. Milk fodder for cows.

338. ol ŋanboli (Ficus sycomorus L.). A decoction of two hand-sized pieces of bark is drunk for diarrhea.

339. ol ŋẽãndus (Euphorbia spec.). Goats are said to die after eating this plant.

340. ol ŋeriandus l en doje (Plumbago zeylanica L.). The ornamental scars on the faces of women are produced by cauterizing with the caustic root juice.

341. ol ŋeriandus l on jahuri (Thumbergia alata Boj.). The sword scabbard is dyed with the red root juice.

342. ol ŋjaligwa.

343. ol ŋonomi (Cyperus spec.). Fodder grass for small livestock. The onionlike roots are eaten with special liking by guinea fowl.

344. ol ŋonomi l el sirgon (Kyllingia alba Nees.) is a good fodder grass that is especially valued for donkeys.

/371/ 345. ol ŋonomi l os sobugo = en ɣoilin.

346. ol obe kidoŋoi (Sporobolus indicus R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

347. ol ɣbereti = ol ebereti (Phyllanthus).

348. ol obereti kete.

349. ol obereti kitok.

350. ol ɣbito (1)

1. The Masai also called Stephania abyssinica A. Rich. ol obito.

(Glycine javanica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/373 cont./

M 824

394. ol oja basɛ̀j = ol oija basɛ̀j.

395. ol ojeŋgalàni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okitèni. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824]

397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorobo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M [825] [789]

398. ol ɔ̀mɔ̀. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol oñorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol oñoroñ. The berries are edible.

401. ol ɔ̀ñɔ̀ (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol oñuñoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol ɔ̀rɔ̀k olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825]

404. ol ɔ̀rɔ̀ndɔ́ (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301

405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301

408. ol orowil l el dorɔ̀bo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eŋg osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824

410. eŋg osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

D 824